

**THE JAVANESE CULTURE AS A SOURCE OF SUHARTO'S
LEADERSHIP: A SOCIO-POLITICAL ANALYSIS**

**By
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**Theses Submitted to the College of Law, Government, and
International Studies, Universiti Utara Malaysia, in Fulfillment of
the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor Philosophy**

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the thesis is based on my original work except for quotations and citations which have been duly acknowledged. I also declare that it has not been previously or concurrently submitted for any other degree at UUM or other institutions.

TOTOK SARSITO
Date: 4 March 2010

DEDICATION

To:
My beloved wife:
Hj. Sarwanti

My beloved children:
Jessica Puspadayasari, Oscar Prameshwara, and Marissa Ayu Kusuma

My son in law:
Tejo Pramono

*"May Allah Subhanna Wataalla always bless us. Amien ya
rabbal alamien."*

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Javanese Culture as a Source of Suharto's Leadership: A Socio-Political Analysis

ABSTRACT

Great General Suharto who had managed to rule the country for more than 32 years, used and manipulated Javanese cultural values and philosophy as the 'guidance', for his personal and in official duties. According to Suharto, a number of traditional Javanese thoughts in the form of guidance or '*pituduh*' and prohibition or '*wewaler*', when practiced, would make the Indonesian people have noble and generous mind or '*ber budi bowo leksono*', that is one who is really good as the essence of goodness or '*becik sajatining becik*'. Suharto's strong commitment and spirit to the practice of these Javanese traditional teachings were based on his belief that it would not be difficult for Indonesian people to improve their consciousness as the nation of Indonesia in their state, government and social life on the basis of Pancasila should they understood the Javanese cultural values and philosophy. This study is meant to critically analyze how these noble Javanese traditional teachings, particularly in politics, were practiced by Suharto in his personal capacity and official duties. This analysis is based on theoretical framework that culture occupies important role in determining human behavior and social change and that it is culture that should be taken into account in the last instance to explain human behavior and social change. In his personal life, the practice of Javanese traditional teachings was meant to make him a good Javanese having capacity to receive '*wahyu*' or '*guidance*' from God Almighty particularly for ruling the country. And in his official duties it was meant to convince the people that all decisions and policies he had taken were always socially just and philosophically correct because they were based on very highly respected values and philosophy so that they could be accepted or legitimate; and secondly to create a just and prosperous society based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution as mandated by the Proclamation of the 17 August 1945 through a well-organized development movement. In order to achieve these goals, Suharto always attempted to concentrate power as most Javanese kings usually did by implementing the doctrine of '*dwifungsi ABRI*', creating GOLKAR as a vehicle for his political goals, merging the numerous political parties into two major parties, imposing policy on mono-loyalty to all civil servants, and practicing anti-criticism and anti-opposition policy in order to weaken or even neutralize his political opponents. To give constitutional basis for the Javanese cultural values and philosophy to be implemented by all Indonesian people as guidance for their state, government, and social life Suharto formulated the P-4 or "*Pedoman Penghayatan dan Pengamalan Pancasila*" (Guidance for the Comprehension and Practice of Pancasila) and inserted a number of Javanese traditional teachings into it. These traditional teachings were also inserted into the "*Doktrin Kepemimpinan ABRI*" or the Indonesian Armed Forces Leadership Doctrine adopted by the ABRI..

Budaya Jawa Sebagai Sumber Kepemimpinan Suharto: Sebuah Analisis Sosio-Politik

ABSTRAK

General Besar iaitu Suharto yang telah melaksanakan pemerintahan sebagai presiden selama lebih dari 32 tahun, menggunakan dan memanipulasi nilai-nilai kebudayaan dan falsafah Jawa sebagai panduan samada untuk kepentingan peribadi atau didalam melaksanakan pemerintahan. Beliau percaya bahawa beberapa pemikiran Jawa tradisional yang berbentuk panduan atau '*pituduh*' dan larangan atau '*wewaler*' apabila dilaksanakan akan menjadikan bangsa Indonesia '*berbudi bowo leksono*' iaitu berperilaku bijak dan murah hati atau '*becik sajatining becik*' iaitu baik dalam arti yang sesungguhnya. Suharto mempunyai komitmen dan semangat yang tinggi untuk melaksanakan nilai-nilai kebudayaan dan falsafah Jawa didasarkan pada kepercayaan bahawa tidak sulit bagi bangsa Indonesia untuk memperbaiki kesadarannya sebagai suatu bangsa Indonesia dalam kehidupan negara, kerajaan dan sosial berasaskan Pancasila sekiranya mereka faham tentang nilai-nilai kebudayaan Jawa. Kajian ini dimaksudkan untuk menjelaskan secara kritikal bagaimana nilai-nilai kebudayaan dan falsafah Jawa, terutamanya didalam bidang politik, telah digunakan oleh Suharto samada dalam kehidupan peribadi mahupun dalam corak pemerintahan. Analisa ini berasaskan kepada kerangka kerja teoritikal yang menjelaskan bahawa budaya memainkan peranan penting dalam menentukan tingkah laku manusia dan perubahan sosial. Kebudayaan patut diberikan penekanan contohnya dalam menentukan tingkah laku manusia dan perubahan sosial. Di dalam kehidupan peribadi, amalan nilai budaya Jawa membawa makna agar beliau menjadi orang Jawa yang baik yang mempunyai martabat untuk menerima '*wahyu*' atau panduan dari Tuhan terutamanya dalam melaksanakan pemerintahan negara. Dalam melaksanakan pemerintahan, amalan budaya Jawa bermaksud untuk meyakinkan rakyat bahawa semua keputusan yang telah diambil secara sosial adalah adil dan secara falsafah adalah benar kerana telah diasaskan oleh nilai falsafah yang tinggi maka rakyat wajib menerimanya; dan kedua, untuk membentuk masyarakat berasaskan pada Pancasila dan Undang-undang Dasar 1945 sebagai mandate daripada Proklamasi 17 Ogos 1945 melalui gerakan pembangunan. Untuk mencapai tujuan tersebut, Suharto telah selalu berusaha untuk memusatkan kekuasaannya seperti yang dilakukan oleh raja-raja Jawa sebelumnya dengan cara menjalankan '*doktrin dwifungsi ABRI*', mendirikan GOLKAR sebagai kereta untuk mencapai tujuan politiknya, menggabungkan semua parti politik yang ada menjadi dua parti politik besar sahaja, memaksakan kebijakan '*mono-loyalty*' bagi seluruh kaki tangan kerajaan, melaksanakan kebijakan anti kritik atau anti-oposisi guna melemahkan dan atau menguasai lawan-lawan politiknya. Untuk memberikan dasar konstitusional bagi amalan nilai-nilai kebudayaan dan falsafah Jawa, Suharto merumuskan P-4 atau '*Pedoman Penghayatan dan Pengamalan Pancasila*' dan memasukkan nilai-nilai kebudayaan dan falsafah Jawa kedalamnya. Nilai-nilai kebudayaan dan falsafah Jawa juga dimasukkan oleh Suharto ke dalam '*Doktrin Kepemimpinan ABRI*'.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABRI	: <i>Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia</i> (the Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia)
AMPERA	: <i>Amanat Penderitaan Rakyat</i> (the Mandate of the People's Sufferings)
BAKORSTANAS	: <i>Badan Koordinasi Stabilitas Nasional</i> (National Stability Coordinating Board)
BAPILU	: <i>Badan Pemenangan Pemilu</i> (Body to Guide the General Election)
BERDIKARI	: <i>Berdiri di Atas Kaki Sendiri</i> (Self Reliance)
BKR	: <i>Badan Keamanan Rakyat</i> (People Security Body)
BPUPKI	: <i>Badan Penyelidik Usaha-usaha Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia</i> (Investigation Body of the Preparatory Attempts for the Indonesian Independence)
BTI	: <i>Barisan Tani Indonesia</i> (the Indonesian Peasant Front)
CGMI	: <i>Central Gerakan Mahasiswa Indonesia</i> (the Central Movement of Indonesian Student)
CONEFO	: Conference on the New Emerging Forces
DEPERNAS	: <i>Dewan Perancang Nasional</i> (National Planning Council)
DPA	: <i>Dewan Pertimbangan Agung</i> (Supreme Advisory Council)
DPR-GR	: <i>Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Gotong Royong</i> (Mutual People Representative Council)
ELS	: <i>Europeesche Lagere School</i> (Elementary School)
FDR	: <i>Front Demokrasi Rakyat</i> (People Democratic Front)
G-30-S/PKI	: <i>Gerakan 30 September/PKI</i> (the Thirtieth of September Movement of the PKI)
GANEF0	: Games of the New Emerging Forces
GBHN	: <i>Garis-garis Besar Haluan Negara</i> (Broad Lines of the State Policy)
GERWANI	: <i>Gerakan Wanita Indonesia</i> (the Indonesian Women Movement)
GOLKAR	: <i>Golongan Karya</i> (Functional Group)
HBS	: <i>Hogere Burger School</i> (Senior High School)
HMI	: <i>Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam</i> (Islamic Student Association)
IPKI	: <i>Ikatan Pendukung Kemerdekaan Indonesia</i> (Association of Supporters for the Indonesian Independence)
KNIP	: <i>Komite Nasional Indonesia Pusat</i> (the Central Indonesian National Committee)
KINO	: <i>Kelompok Induk Organisasi</i> (Basic Organizational Unit)

KODAM	: <i>Komando Daerah Militer</i> (Military Area Command)
KODIM	: <i>Komando District Militer</i> (Military District Command)
KOGAM	: <i>Komando Operasi Ganyang Malaysia</i> (Operation Command for Crushing Malaysia)
KOKARMENDAGRI	: <i>Korps Karyawan Departemen Dalam Negeri</i> (Corps of the Civil Servants of the Interior Ministry)
KOLOGNAS	: <i>Komando Logistik Nasional</i> (National Logistic Command)
KOPKAMTIB	: <i>Komando Pemulihan Keamanan dan Ketertiban</i> (the Operational Command for the Restoration of Security and Order)
KOPMA UNS	: <i>Koperasi Mahasiswa Universitas Sebelas Maret</i> (Student Cooperative of the University of Sebelas Maret)
KORAMIL	: <i>Komando Resort Militer</i> (Sub-district Military Command)
KORPRI	: <i>Korps Pegawai Republik Indonesia</i> (Corps of the Civil Servants of the Republic of Indonesia)
KOSGORO	: <i>Koperasi Serba Usaha Gotong Royong</i> (Mutual Aid All-Purpose Cooperative)
KOSTRAD	: <i>Komando Strategis Angkatan Darat</i> (the Army Strategic Reserve Command)
KOTI	: <i>Komando Operasi Tertinggi</i> (the Highest Command of Operation)
KOTRAR	: <i>Komando Tertinggi Retooling Alat Revolusi</i> (the Highest Command for Retooling the Revolution Instruments)
KNIP	: <i>Komite Nasional Indonesia Pusat</i> (the Central Indonesian National Committee)
LEKKRA	: <i>Lembaga Kesenian dan Kebudayaan Rakyat</i> (the People Arts and Culture Institution)
LEMHANAS	: <i>Lembaga Pertahanan Nasional</i> (National Defense Institute)
LITSUS	: <i>Penelitian Khusus</i> (Special Investigation)
MALARI	: <i>Malapetaka 15 Januari</i> (The Fifteenth of January Calamity)
MANIPOL	: <i>Manifesto Politik</i> (Political Manifesto)
MASYUMI	: <i>Majelis Syuro Muslimin Indonesia</i>
MKGR	: <i>Musyawarah Kekeluargaan Gotong Royong</i> (Mutual Aid Family-based Council).
MUI	: <i>Majelis Ulama Indonesia</i> (Indonesian Council of Islamic Scholars)
MPRS	: <i>Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat Sementara</i> (Provisional People Consultative Assembly)
NASAKOM	: <i>Nasionalis, Agama, Komunis</i> (Nationalist, Religious Groups, and Communist)
NEFO	: The New Emerging Forces

NEKOLIM	: <i>Neo Kolonialis dan Imperialis</i> (New Colonialist and Imperialist)
NGO	: Non Governmental Organization
NU	: <i>Nahdhatul Ulama</i> (Islamic Scholars Association)
OLDEFO	: The Old Emerging Forces
P-4	: <i>Pedoman Penghayatan dan Pengamalan Pancasila</i> (Guidance for Comprehension and Practice of Pancasila)
PANCA AZIMAT REVOLUSI	: The Five Magic Charms of the Revolution
PAN	: <i>Partai Amanat Nasional</i> (National Mandate Party)
PANDU HW	: <i>Pandu 'Hisbul Wathan'</i> (the Hisbul Wathan Boy Scout)
PANGKOKAMTIB	: <i>Panglima Komando Operasi Pemulihan Keamanan dan Ketertiban</i> (the Commander of the Operational Command for the Restoration of Security and Order)
PARKINDO	: <i>Partai Kristen Indonesia</i> (Indonesian Christian Party)
PARMUSI	: <i>Partai Muslimin Indonesia</i> (Indonesian Moslem Party)
PARTINDO	: <i>Partai Indonesia</i> (Indonesian Party)
PEMUDA RAKYAT	: People Youth
PDI	: <i>Partai Demokrasi Indonesia</i> (Indonesian Democratic Party)
PELITA	: <i>Pembangunan Lima Tahun</i> (the Five Year Development)
PERTI	: <i>Persatuan Tarbiyah Islam Indonesia</i>
PETA	: <i>Pembela Tanah Air</i> (National Home Defense)
PNI	: <i>Partai Nasional Indonesia</i> (Indonesian Nationalist Party)
PPP	: <i>Partai Persatuan Pembangunan</i> (United Development Party)
PKI	: <i>Partai Komunis Indonesia</i> (Indonesian Communist Party)
PSI	: <i>Partai Sosialis Indonesia</i> (Indonesian Socialist Party)
PRRI	: <i>Pemerintah Revolusioner Republik Indonesia</i> (Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Indonesia)
REPELITA	: <i>Rencana Pembangunan Lima Tahun</i> (the Five Year Development Plan)
RPKAD	: <i>Resimen Para Komando Angkatan Darat</i> (Regiment of Army Para Command)
RRI	: <i>Radio Republik Indonesia</i> (the Radio of the Republic of Indonesia)
RT	: <i>Rukun Tetangga</i> (Neighborhood Community)
RUSI	: Republic of the United States of Indonesia (<i>Republik Indonesia Serikat</i>)
SAPTA MARGA	: The Seven Pledges
SBI	: <i>Serikat Buruh Indonesia</i> (the Indonesian Labor

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background

Indonesia is an archipelago consisting of almost 17,000 islands, stretching from Sabang in the west to Merauke in the east. It has about 216 million people, made up of more than 200 ethnics each with its own culture. The most dominant group are the Javanese who make up more than 47 percent of the population of Indonesia. Since its independence in 1945, Indonesia has been governed consecutively by five presidents: Sukarno or popularly called Bung Karno (a Javanese civilian, 1945-1966, passed away in 1970), Suharto or popularly called Pak Harto (Javanese, a retired army great general, 1966-1998, passed away in 2008), Bacharuddin Jusuf (B.J.) Habibie (Bugese, a civilian, 1998-1999), Abdurrahman Wahid or popularly called Gus Dur (Javanese, a civilian, 1999-2001, passed away in 2009), Megawati Sukarnoputri or popularly called mBak Mega (Javanese, a civilian, 2001-2004), and Susilo Bambang Yudoyono or popularly called SBY (Javanese, a retired army general, 2004 until the present time). Among them, Suharto was the longest serving President.

As a true Javanese, Army Great General Suharto,¹ the second president, had managed to govern Indonesia for almost 32 years, from 1966 to 1998. However, when his last term of office had just started he was forced to step down by a very powerful reform movement following a worsening economic and

¹ In Indonesia there were only three Army Great Generals or '*Jendral Besar TNI*' and all of them have already passed away. Those Army Great Generals were Great General Sudirman (1916-1950, Javanese), Great General Abdul Harris Nasution (1918-2000, Batak), and Great General Suharto (1921-2008, Javanese).

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 9. Prof. Dr. Damarjati Supajar, Professor in Philosophy, University of Gadjah Mada, Yogyakarta, 10 November 2009.
 10. Dr. Tri Wiratno, Doctor Philosophy in English Literature University of Sebelas Maret and practioner of Javanese teachings, Solo, 5 March 2009.
 11. Drs. Sutarjo, M.Hum., Expert on Javanese Literature, University of Sebelas Maret, Solo, 13 March 2009.
 12. Drs. Sudarmono, SU, Historian and Expert on Javanese Culture, University of Sebelas Maret, Solo, 10 September

IV. Leading businessmen and intellectuals:

13. Prof. Dr. Sukamdani Sahid Gitosarjono, Chairman of Sahid Foundation, Owner of Sahid Hotel Groups (Hotels, Newspapers, Radios, Schools & University, Pondok Pesantren), Jakarta, 10 October 2009.
14. Drs. Adib Ajiputra, Ex-Youth of Pioneer, a businessman, Solo, 17 March 2009.

V. General publics:

15. Tejo Pramono, SP, an activist of International NGO, Jakarta, 7 March 2009.
16. Agus Doddy Sugiartoto, an activist of NGO, Solo, 10 March 2009.
17. Drs. Dian Nafi, the Head of Pondok Pesantren Windan, Sukoharjo, 9 March 2009.
18. HS Sumaryono, Ex-Journalist, Ex-Chairman of PWI (Indonesian Journalist Association), Solo, 10 August 2009.
19. Balidi Dwijopranto, Retired worker of Sugar Plantation Factory of Colomadu, Solo, 17 March 2009.

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